The Methodology of

Hizb ut-Tahrir

for Change

Al-Khilafah Publications
Suite 298
56 Gloucester Road
London SW7 4UB

e-mail: info@khilafah.com
website: http://www.khilafah.com

Al-Khilafah Publications
Suite 298
56 Gloucester Road
London SW7 4UB
e-mail: info@khilafah.com
website: http://www.khilafah.com

1420 AH / 1999 CE

ISBN 1 899574 190

Translation of the Qur'an

It should be perfectly clear that the Qur'an is only authentic in its original language, Arabic. Since perfect translation of the Qur'an is impossible, we have used the translation of the meaning of the Qur'an' throughout the book, as the result is only a crude meaning of the Arabic text.

Qur'anic *Ayat* and transliterated words have been *italicised*.

Ahadith appear in **bold**

ﷻ - subhanahu wa ta'ala
ﷺ - sallallahu 'alaihi wa sallam
ra - radhi allaho anha/anho
AH - After Hijrah
CE - Christian Era

Contents

Introduction 4

The Reality Of Muslims 5

The Reality Of Muslim Lands 5

The Dar (Land) In Which Muslims Inhabit 5

Dar ul-Islam 6

Dar ul-Kufr 6

The Security (Aman) 8

The Society In Muslim Lands Is Non-Islamic 8

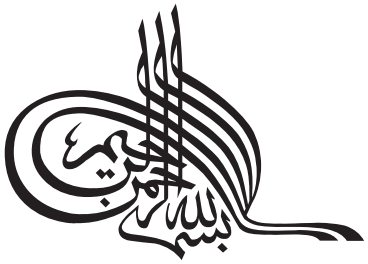
The Vital Issue For Muslims 11

The Islamic Way Of Life 15

Non-Political Organisations 16

Hizb ut-Tahrir 23

The Methodology of Hizb ut-Tahrir For Making Change 28



In the Name of Allah the Beneficent the Merciful.

May Allah's ﷻ peace and prayers fall on the Master of the Messengers, the leader to the pious people, his family, and his companions and upon everyone who makes da'wa with his message, and who confines himself to his method, and follows his steps and takes the Islamic creed as the basis for his thoughts, and the divine rules as the standard for his actions and as a reference for his opinions and rules.

Dear brothers and sisters we greet you with the greeting of Islam:

As-Salamu Alaikum Warahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu.

We ask Allah ﷻ to ensure that our gathering is completely for His sake and to give us the good for Islam and Muslims. We ask Allah ﷻ to reveal to our sight the truth as truth, and give us the strength to follow it, and show us falsehood as falsehood, and give us the strength to avoid it.

Dear brothers and sisters, the vital issue for Muslims in the whole world is the re-establishment of the rule of Allah ﷻ through establishing the Khilafah, and appointing a Khalifah for the Muslims, who is given the pledge (*Bai'a*) on the Book of Allah ﷻ and the traditions (*Sunnah*) of His Prophet ﷺ, in order to demolish the rules of *Kufr* and to replace them with the laws of Islam both in implementation and application, to transfer the Muslim lands to *Dar ul-Islam* (Land of Islam), to make the society in Muslim lands an Islamic society, and to carry the message of Islam to the world by invitation and *Jihad*.

By defining what is the vital issue for Muslims, the objective will also be defined, for the achievement of which those who carry the Islamic call have to strive, as groups, parties and structures. Consequently the method which they have to follow to achieve their aim will also be defined. In order to understand all this we have to be aware of the present situation of Muslims and the reality of Muslim lands; and the situation of these lands, the reality of the society in which Muslims live nowadays, and the reality of the divine rules which are connected to all of these things.

The Reality Of Muslims

Although there are Muslims, their lives are characterised and dominated by a mixture of Islamic, western, socialist, nationalist, partisan, regional and sectarian thoughts and emotions.

The Reality Of Muslim Lands

When we look at the Muslim lands, which are primarily the Arab areas, they are unfortunately all governed by the laws and systems of *Kufr* except for some Islamic laws, such as the laws of marriage, divorce, wife's financial support, inheritance, guardianship etc. All of these are implemented by specially appointed courts called divine courts (*Mahkamah Shari'ah*). There are also some other divine rules that are applied in the courts of some Muslim countries such as in Saudi Arabia and Iran.

The Dar (Land) Which Muslims Inhabit

Regarding these lands in which Muslims currently live throughout the world, their reality is that they are all *Dar ul-Kufr* (land of disbelief) and not *Dar ul-Islam* (land of Islam). In order to understand this situation we have to understand the reality of *Dar ul-Islam* and the reality of *Dar ul-Kufr* according to the viewpoint of *Shari'ah*.

Dar ul-Islam

According to the divine terminology, *Dar ul-Islam* is defined as the land which is governed by the laws of Islam and whose security (*Aman*) is maintained by the security of Islam, i.e. by the authority and protection of Muslims inside and outside the land, even if the majority of its inhabitants are non-Muslims.

Dar ul-Kufr

According to the divine terminology *Dar ul-Kufr* is the land which is governed by the laws of *Kufr*, and whose security is not maintained by the security (*Aman*) of Islam, i.e. by other than the authority and security of Muslims, even if the majority of its inhabitants are Muslims.

So what matters in determining whether the land is *Dar ul-Islam* or *Dar ul-Kufr* is neither the land itself nor its inhabitants, rather it is the laws and the security. So if its laws are Islamic and its security is maintained by Muslims then it is *Dar ul-Islam*. When its laws are the laws of *Kufr* (disbelief) and its security is not maintained by Muslims then it is *Dar ul-Kufr* or *Dar ul-Harb* (land of disbelief or land of war). This understanding is taken from the tradition of the Prophet ﷺ narrated by Sulayman Bin Buraida. He reported that the Prophet ﷺ said: **"...Call them to Islam, and if they agree accept from them and refrain from fighting against them, then call them to move from their land to the land of the Muhajireen (the emigrants), and tell them if they do so, then they will have the rights which the Muhajireen enjoy and they will have duties like the duties upon the Muhajireen."** What does this *Hadith* indicate? It is that if they did not move from their land to the land of the *Muhajireen* they would not enjoy what the *Muhajireen* enjoy, i.e. the rights of those who are living in the land of Islam. So this *Hadith* clearly shows the difference between those who move to the land of the *Muhajireen* and those who do not move to the land of the *Muhajireen*. *Dar-ul-Muhajireen* was the land of Islam at the time of the Prophet ﷺ, and all other lands outside were *Dar ul-Kufr*.

It was from this *Hadith* that the terms of *Dar ul-Islam* and *Dar ul-Kufr* or *Dar ul-Harb* were derived. So relating the land (*Dar*) to Islam or to *Kufr*, or to war, is relating to the government and the authority.

It is clear then that the identification of the *Dar* (land) is determined through the identification of its *Sultan* (authority). This authority cannot be verified except on two issues:

Firstly; Looking after the interests according to certain laws;

Secondly; the power which protects the citizens and implements the laws, i.e. the *Aman* (security).

This is why the two previous conditions were required.

Furthermore the application of the law has other evidences. Allah ﷻ says:

ومن لم يحكم بما انزل الله فاولئك هم الكافرون

"Those who do not govern with what Allah has revealed, they are the disbelievers" [Al- Mai'dah: 44]

And also in the *Hadith* of Auf ibn Malik regarding the bad Imams, in which was mentioned **"O Prophet of Allah shouldn't we declare war against them?"** He said, **"No, as long as they establish the prayer among you."** And also from the *Hadith* narrated by Ubadah As Samit regarding the *Bai'a* (pledge), which stated: **"And we have not to dispute the matter with its people unless we see clear Kufr upon which you have proof from Allah."** And it was also narrated by Tabarani. He said: **"Unless you see open Kufr."**

So these texts indicate that to rule with anything other than the laws of Allah ﷻ is a matter that makes it obligatory upon Muslims to declare war against the ruler and it is an evidence which indicates that implementing Islam is a condition for having *Dar ul-Islam*, otherwise the ruler must be fought against.

The Security (Aman)

The security (*Aman*) has to be with the security of Islam, i.e. the authority of Muslims. The evidence for this comes from the saying of Allah ﷻ,

ولن يجعل الله للكافرين على المؤمنين سبيلا

"Allah will not allow the disbelievers to have an authority (sultan) over the believers" [An- Nisa: 141]

i.e. it is not allowed for the disbelievers to have authority (*Sultan*) over the believers, because giving them authority means that the security of Muslims is in the hands of *Kufr* and not in the hands of Islam.

Furthermore, the Prophet ﷺ used to order the invasion of every land which did not submit to the *Sultan* of Muslims, and he used to engage in war against them whether the inhabitants were Muslim or non-Muslim. Anas narrated that: "Wherever the Prophet ﷺ raided some people he would not raid except in the morning. If he heard the *Adhan* he would refrain, and if he did not he would invade after dawn". And it was narrated by Essam Almusny, who said: **"The Prophet ﷺ used to tell to the expeditions that he sent: 'If you` have seen a mosque or heard a call for prayer, then do not kill anybody.'"** The *Adhan* and the mosque are considered symbols of Islam, a matter which indicates that if the land is inhabited by Muslims this does not prevent it from being invaded and fought against as an act of war, but the important factor is that its people will not be killed, yet it will be invaded. This means that it is considered *Dar ul-Harb* or *Dar ul-Kufr* because, though the symbols or rituals of Islam are present, it is not protected by the authority of the Prophet ﷺ, i.e. the authority and security of Islam. So it would be considered *Dar ul-Harb*, and like any land defined as *Dar ul-Harb* it would be invaded.

From all these evidences, it is evident that all the current Muslim lands do not fulfil the condition of the laws of Islam. This is

although the security (*Aman*) of most of them is maintained by the security and authority of Muslims. Yet, they are not unfortunately considered to be *Dar ul-Islam* despite being Islamic lands and their inhabitants being Muslims, because what matters concerning the land is the laws and *Aman* (security), not the land and the inhabitants.

The Society In Muslim Lands Is Non-Islamic

Society is composed of individuals, thoughts, emotions and systems and not only individuals. So society, in its reality, is a group of people amongst whom there exist permanent relationships. If the people did not have permanent relationships then they would simply constitute a group and not a society. An example of this is the temporary association that exists between people on a journey, in a ship, an aeroplane or a caravan.

In order for a permanent relationship to exist between people, there should exist amongst them a unity of thought, emotions and system. If the unity of these three elements amongst them were to be missing, then the permanent relationship would not exist, and consequently they would not constitute a society.

So, society is composed of individuals, thoughts, emotions and systems, and it is according to the identity of these elements that the society will be defined. Human societies will therefore differ from each other, based on the difference of the thoughts, emotions and systems amongst the peoples.

The society in the Muslim lands is presently dominated by a mixture of thoughts, emotions and systems, despite the fact that most of their inhabitants are Muslims. So it is not strange to find visible contradictions in the thoughts and emotions which exist amongst Muslims. Consequently, at the time when they look to Islam as their *Deen*, we find that they agree to be governed by a ruler who is a *Kafir*, just as we find them remaining silent about the implementation of the systems of *Kufr* upon them.

Furthermore, at the time that we see them long for the re-

establishment of Islam, we see them clinging to nationalistic, local and sectarian ways. And at the time that they portray America, Britain and Russia as their enemies, we find them seeking the help of and befriending these countries, and turning to them to solve their problems for them. Also at the time that they accept that the believers are brothers we find them clinging fanatically to their races and to their countries. So the Arab shows allegiance to Arabism, and the Turk to Turkish nationalism, and the Persian to Persia, the Iraqi to Iraq, the Syrian to Syria and the Egyptian to Egypt and so on, even though all these things contradict Islam. At the time they claim to believe in the laws of Islam, they call for democracy, liberties, the sovereignty of the people, socialism and other thoughts that entirely contradict the laws of Islam. This is in addition to the fact that the systems of government, economy, education, foreign policy and the civic canons that are implemented upon them in all the lands of Islam are but *Kufr* systems and *Kufr* canons. All this makes the society in all the Muslim lands a non-Islamic society.

From all that has been mentioned, it is clear that Muslims in every Muslim land, despite the fact that they are Muslims, are actually living in non-Islamic societies, and the lands in which they live are not *Dar ul-Islam*. It is also clear that the vital issue concerning Muslims after the demolition of the Khilafah State and the removal of Islam from its application in life, society and state, is implementing Islam in life, society and state through the re-establishment of the Khilafah and the appointment of a Khalifah for the Muslims. The Khalifah is given a pledge to be listened to and obeyed, on the condition that he governs over the people with the Book of Allah ﷻ and the *Sunnah* of His Prophet ﷺ, and demolishes the laws of *Kufr* and its systems, replacing them by the laws and systems of Islam. Thereby transferring the Islamic lands to *Dar ul-Islam*, transferring the society in the Islamic lands to an Islamic society, unifying the Muslim lands under the Khilafah State, and then carrying Islam to the rest of the world by invitation and *Jihad*.

The Vital Issue For Muslims

This question of what is the vital issue for Muslims is understood and derived from the divine rules, which oblige Muslims to work completely in accordance with the laws of Islam, and to apply and implement them in the life, state and society. Allah ﷻ says:

وما أتاكم الرسول فخذوه وما نهاكم عنه فانتهوا

"Whatever the messenger brought to you take it; and whatever he forbids you abstain from it" [Al- Hashr: 7]

The word '*ma*' (whatever) in the verse is general and includes the obligation to take everything that the Prophet ﷺ brought, and the obligation to abstain from everything that the Prophet ﷺ prohibited. Allah ﷻ also said:

وان احكم بينهم بما انزل الله ولا تتبع اهواءهم واحذرهم ان يفتنوك عن بعض ما انزل الله اليك

"And govern between them with what Allah has revealed and do not follow their desires and beware that they might seduce you from some of what Allah has revealed upon you" [Al- Mai'dah: 49]

This is a commandment from Allah ﷻ to His messenger ﷺ and to the Muslims, stressing the duty to govern with all that Allah ﷻ has revealed, because the word '*Ma*' (whatever) is general, so it includes all the rules that Allah ﷻ has revealed. And Allah ﷻ also said:

ومن لم يحكم بما أنزل الله فاولئك هم الكافرون

"Whoever governs with other than what Allah has revealed, they are disbelievers" [Al- Mai'dah: 44]

So whoever does not govern with what Allah ﷻ has revealed is

of the disbelievers because the word *'Ma'* (whatever) again in this verse is general, so it includes everything that Allah ﷻ has revealed.

Thus, from these verses it is clear that there is an obligation to govern with everything that Allah ﷻ has revealed, and since this does not exist nowadays in any of the Muslim lands, re-establishing Islam to exist in the life, state and society is the vital issue for Muslims.

Islam has decided that the measure which should be attached to this vital issue is the measure of life or death. Muslim has narrated in the *Hadith* of Auf bin Malik that the Prophet ﷺ has said:

"There will be Amirs, you will recognise some of what they do, and you will deny some. Whoever disliked them he will cure himself of the sin, and whoever denied he will be safe, but the one who agreed and followed (will not)." And the Prophet ﷺ was asked **"O Prophet of Allah shouldn't we declare war against them?"** He ﷺ said: **"No as long as they establish amongst you the prayer."** And Bukhari narrated about Abada ibn As-Samet, that he said, "The Prophet ﷺ called us, so we gave him a pledge to listen and obey in our activity, and our dislike, in our hardship, and our ease and in the things which are dear to us, and not to dispute the authority with its people unless one sees clear *Kufr* upon which one has proof from Allah". Tabarani narrated this as 'open *Kufr*'. So establishing the prayer according to the *Hadith* of Auf bin Malik clearly means establishing the deen. Though the *Hadith* mentions establishing the prayer, by implication it means the whole of Islam; this is an indirect expression which means governing by Islam. The 'clear *Kufr*' which is mentioned in the *Hadith* of Ubada ibn As-Samet is the clear *Kufr* in the actions which the ruler performs, i.e. governing with the laws of *Kufr*.

The meaning of the two *Hadith*s is that war should be declared against the rulers if they do not establish the rules of Islam and display its rituals, and that they should be fought against if they establish the rules of *Kufr*, and their authority should be disputed if they showed clear *Kufr*. Declaring war against them means

fighting against them to remove them from the government and to re-establish the rules of Islam.

It is obvious from all of these evidences that the importance of ruling with Islam and preventing the ruling with *Kufr* laws, is a vital issue for Muslims.

Dear brothers and sisters, the occurrence of severe agitation in society encourages the vigour and the vitality to move slowly amongst the *Ummah*. The result of this is a common collective feeling among individuals in the *Ummah*. This feeling leads to an intellectual process by which the reasons and the causes of the agitation are discussed, so as to find a solution to resolve the problem. This intellectual operation will cover the past, present and future of this nation, and also the history of other peoples and nations, and the methods of their revival, highlighting the comparisons and differences in order for the mind to be guided through this analysis and study to the solution and answer.

Regarding the Muslims, they have been exposed at the beginning of this century to the most severe agitation which shook their entity, divided their lands, separated their unity and demolished their Khilafah State. This killed their spirit and removed Islam from being implemented in life, state and society. The result of all this was the division of the Khilafah State into states and regimes which, at the beginning, submitted to the direct ruling of the disbelieving states. Later they were ruled by the hands of puppet rulers who were controlled by the disbelieving states. This resulted also in the enactment and implementation of the systems and rules of *Kufr* in all of the Muslim lands.

This great agitation was followed by another one, which involved the conspiracy of the disbelieving countries and their agents (the rulers of the Arab countries) to steal Palestine and establish on its land the state of Israel.

These two agitations had a great effect on the souls of the Muslims, and so they started to work for their salvation. Consequently many Islamic and non-Islamic movements were

established to perform this task of salvation, but they could not save the Muslims from the results and consequences of these two horrible agitations.

After the second agitation Hizb ut-Tahrir came into existence, because some of the Muslims were disturbed by the situation they found the Muslims falling into. So they started to study the reality of the Islamic *Ummah*, both in terms of the present and the past. They also studied all the events which occurred amongst the *Ummah*, what it was exposed to and what it turned to and the causes of all these. They studied the reality of the Muslims and the reality of the society in Muslim lands, the relationship of the *Ummah* in these lands with the rulers and the relationship of these rulers with the *Ummah*, and they studied what these rulers implement upon the *Ummah* in terms of systems and canons, and they also studied the thoughts and emotions which dominated the Muslims in their society.

They compared all this with the rules of Islam, after having studied these rules accurately and understood their reality. They studied the movements that were established to bring salvation to the Muslims, whether they were based upon Islam or upon other than Islam. From all this study, they came with a clear, crystallised, particular thought, upon which they established Hizb ut-Tahrir.

Hizb ut-Tahrir concluded from all this study that the vital issue for the Islamic *Ummah* is the re-establishment of Islam in life, state and society, and the carrying of Islam as a message to the world through invitation and *Jihad*.

Based upon this understanding Hizb ut-Tahrir has defined its goal as resuming the Islamic way of life and carrying the Islamic *Da'wah*. Accordingly, it started to work with the *Ummah* in order to achieve its goal.

The Islamic Way Of Life

What is meant by resuming the Islamic way of life is that Muslims should return to acting according to all the rules of Islam. Whether they are creeds, worships, morals, transactions, systems of ruling, economy, social system, education or foreign policy with other nations and states, and also to transform the land of Muslims to *Dar ul-Islam* and change the society in these lands into an Islamic society.

Resuming the Islamic way of life would not be achieved except by establishing the Khilafah and appointing a Khalifah for the Muslims, who should be given the pledge (*Bai'a*) to be listened to and obeyed based upon the Book of Allah ﷻ and the *Sunnah* of His Prophet ﷺ. When Hizb ut-Tahrir, from this study, managed to define the vital issue for the Muslims and consequently to define its aim, and the goal which it acts to achieve; through this, it was able to understand the method which it has to follow in order to achieve the goal. This is represented by the method which the Prophet ﷺ followed in his activity from the moment Allah ﷻ sent him as a messenger until he achieved the establishment of the Islamic state in Medina.

This action to resume the Islamic way of life should be undertaken collectively; it is not allowed to be an individual activity, because it would not be possible to achieve the goal through individual activity, no matter how exalted the thought and mind of the individuals; rather they must work within a group.

Therefore, the activity for re-establishing the Khilafah and re-establishing the rule of Allah ﷻ is a collective activity. It should be done within a structure, party or group. This work in a group must be political and should not be other than political, because establishing the Khilafah and appointing a Khalifah is a political activity, and because ruling with what Allah ﷻ has revealed is a political activity as well, and they would not be but political activity.

Non-Political Organisations

The organisations which were established to engage in non-political activities have no relationship with the vital issue of the Muslims, and consequently they would be unable to achieve the goal which Muslims must work to achieve, i.e. establishing the Khilafah and bringing back the rule with what Allah ﷻ has revealed. Here are some examples of these organisations:

A. The organisations which are established for welfare activities; such as building schools, hospitals, helping the poor, the orphans and the needy. These welfare activities, although they are of the things which Islam encourages Muslims to carry out, do not have any relationship with the vital issue for Muslims and they would not achieve the goal which Muslims must work to achieve. At the same time carrying these activities would distract the group involved in them from the task of working to re-establish the rule of Allah ﷻ. Moreover to permanently carry out these welfare activities is considered to be an activity which is part of the permanent caring for the affairs of the people. This permanent caring for the affairs is a duty which belongs to the state, it is not a duty of the groups nor of the individuals.

The temporary welfare actions are not considered to be of the permanent caring for the affairs of the people, so they are valid, and the divine rules have commanded their performance. But this, again, has no relationship with the vital issue of the Muslims.

B. The organisations which are established for making *Da'wah* about the worships and about abiding to the *Sunnah Mandoubs*: Calling people to the worships (*Ibadat*) and to the observation of the *Sunnah*, is a matter which Islam commended, because it is part of Islam and part of the goodness which Allah ﷻ made a duty upon Muslims to call for. Allah ﷻ said:

ولتكن منكم أمة يدعون الى الخير

"Let there be from amongst you a group that call for goodness"
[Al- Imran: 104]

Yet calling for goodness and observing the *Sunnah Mandoub* is part of Islam, and the call should be to act with all of Islam as a whole, in its creeds, worships, morals, transactions, systems of government, economy, social system, education, and foreign policy and all other divine rules. Limiting the activity to making *Da'wah* about the worships and the *Sunnah Mandoub* has no relationship with the vital issue for Muslims and it would not achieve the goal which the Muslims must work to achieve. Similar to these organisations are the ones which have been established to take care of the traditions of the Prophet ﷺ, in terms of scrutinising them.

Devotion to these types of actions and similar things would turn the established group away from the necessary work which Allah ﷻ has made a duty upon the Muslims to carry out, which is the removal of the rules of *Kufr* and re-establishing the rules of Islam in life, society, and the state.

C. The organisations which are established or involved in writing and publishing Islamic books and Islamic culture, or involved in the activities of preaching and guiding people to the truth.

Writing and publishing Islamic books and Islamic culture and also preaching and guiding people to the truth, are all noble activities, but they are not the way to solve the vital issue of the Muslims, nor are they the way to establish the Khilafah and bring back Islam to the reality of life, state and society.

If the thoughts are not conveyed politically to be acted upon, and to be established in the reality of life, they would remain as rational information and academic thoughts, which would stay inside the books and in the minds of the people. We are all aware that the Islamic libraries are full of hundreds of thousands of valuable Islamic books on Islamic culture, but they are stagnant. So if the thoughts are not conveyed politically by working with them and establishing them in the reality of life then they would remain stagnant.

We see clearly that the universities which are specialised in

teaching Islam and the culture of Islam such as Al-Azhar, Az-Zaytoona, An-Najaf and others teach Islam as a theoretical and academic way of life, not as something which should be studied practically for implementation. Every year thousands of scholars are graduated from these universities, but they are actually not more than mobile books, because they have studied Islam theoretically and not as something which should be studied, acted upon, conveyed and established in the reality of life, state, and society.

Consequently, it is not strange to find that these graduates do not take the divine rules and the measure of Islam, which is the halal and haram, as the basis for their viewpoint towards life, and as the basis for conducting their actions, and as the basis for their opinions about the incidents and events in life.

D. The societies and organisations which work to enjoin *Ma'rouf* (goodness) and deny *Munkar* (evil): Enjoining the *Ma'rouf* and denying the *Munkar* are part of the duty which Allah ﷻ obliged upon the Muslims. Allah ﷻ says:

ولتكن منكم أمة يدعون الى الخير ويأمرون بالمعروف وينهون عن المنكر وأولئك هم المفلحون

"Let there be from amongst you a group which calls for good, enjoining ma'rouf and forbidding munkar" [Al- Imran: 104]

Enjoining *Ma'rouf* and denying *Munkar* is a duty upon Muslims in every situation, whether there is a Khilafah state or not, and whether the rules of Islam are implemented in the government or not. Both enjoining *Ma'rouf* and forbidding *Munkar* existed at the time of the Prophet ﷺ and at the time of the *Khulafah* after him, and the other *Khulafah* who followed, and it will continue to exist until the end of time.

Yet it is not the way to establish the Khilafah, and to bring back Islam to life, state and society; although it is part of the work to resume the Islamic way of life, because it includes bringing the rulers to task and commanding them with *Ma'rouf* and forbidding them from *Munkar*. Yet the work to resume the Islamic way of life is different from the activity of enjoining *Ma'rouf* and forbidding *Munkar*.

We would like here to draw attention to the fact that there is a difference between the activity of enjoining the *Ma'rouf* and denying the *Munkar*, and the actions of removing the munkar. The actions of enjoining *Ma'rouf* and forbidding *Munkar* are limited to the words only, but the actions of removing the *Munkar* are not verbal only, rather they may exceed that to include using the hand, i.e. the material power. This is derived from what the Prophet ﷺ said, which was narrated by Muslim about Abu Said al Khudari. He ﷺ said: **"Whoever sees a munkar let him change it by his hand. If he could not, let it be by his tongue. If he could not let it be by his heart, and this is the weakest of Iman."**

Now, using force to remove the munkar which is practiced by individuals is dependant on the ability to remove it, as indicated by the words of the *Hadith*, on condition that this would not lead to severe fitna, or lead to killing or using arms. This is relevant to removing the *Munkar* carried out by individuals, a matter that has no relationship with the activity to establish the Khilafah and to return Islam to life, state and society.

However when we come to the question of the ruler, he is excluded from the *Hadith* which mentions using the hand against him. This is because the *Hadith* obliges Muslims to obey the ruler, even if he acted unjustly or took the rights of the *Ummah*, unless he commands with a sin. Other *Hadith* also forbid raising arms against him unless he shows clear *Kufr* (*Kufr Buah*). Muslim has narrated about Nafi' about Ibn Umar regarding what the Prophet ﷺ said: **"Listening and obedience is a duty upon the Muslims in what he likes and dislikes unless he is commanded with disobedience" (Ma'siyah), which means with a sin. If he is commanded with Ma'siyah (disobedience) then there is no duty to listen and obey."** And Al-Bukhari narrated about Ibn Abbas, that he said; the Prophet ﷺ said: **"Whoever of you dislikes a matter from his Amir, let him be patient on that,**

because anyone of you who goes outside the authority of his Amir, even in the measure of a hand-span, and he died, therewith he would die the death of Jahaliya (ignorance)". And Al Bukhari narrated about Abdullah; he said the Prophet ﷺ said: **"You will see after me selfishness and matters which you deny", they said: 'What do you command us to do O Prophet of Allah ?' He said: 'Give them their right, and ask Allah to give you your right.'"**

In spite of the fact that the Prophet ﷺ commanded the Muslims to obey the rulers even if they took the rights of the people, he also made it obligatory upon the Muslims to take them to task and to deny their actions by speaking against them, and to firmly verbally attack them, because the Muslims have the authority to ensure that the ruler observes his duty and they are obliged to forbid him from the prohibited things. Umm Salamah has narrated about the Prophet ﷺ that he said: **"Amirs will be imposed upon you, you will not recognise what they do, and you will deny some of what they do. So whoever disliked (that) he will relieve himself of the sin, and whoever denied (that) he will be saved, but the one who accepted and followed (will not be saved)."** So the one who dislikes the *Munkar* has to change it, and whoever is unable to change it will deny it by his heart, therefore he will be safe from the sin; but the one who agrees with what they do and follows them in their actions will not be exempt from the sin and will not be safe. The Prophet ﷺ said: **"The master of the martyrs is Hamza and the man who stood to advise the unjust Imam and he killed him."** And he said, **"The best Jihad is the word of truth which is said to an unjust ruler."**

In the issue of using the material power against the ruler and using arms to fight against him if he committed *Munkar*; *Shari'ah* has forbidden doing this except in one case, which is the case where the ruler shows clear *Kufr*, i.e. if he judged with the rules of *Kufr*, or if he kept silent about the domination of *Kufr* over the lands. In that case he should be fought against and arms should be raised against him. His power should be disputed until he refrains from using the rules of *Kufr*. If he did not, then arms would be raised against him and he would be fought against to remove him from authority, in order to bring back the divine rules in application and implementation.

In the *Hadith* related by Umm Salamah, they said: **"O Prophet of Allah, should not we then fight against them?"** He said, **"No, as long as they prayed."** In another narration "**....they said, "Don't we fight against them?"** He said, **"No as long as they prayed."** And in the *Hadith* of Auf ibn Malik, **"....they said, "O Prophet of Allah, don't we raise the arms against them?"** He said, **"No, as long as they established the prayer amongst you."** Establishing the prayer in this context means establishing all of the rules of Islam, and although the prayer, which is a part of Islam was mentioned in the *Hadith*, what is meant is all of the rules of Islam. In the *Hadith* of Ubadah ibn As-Samet he said, **"And we should not dispute the authority of its people unless one sees clear Kufr upon which one has proof from Allah."** And Tabarani mentioned, **"Open Kufr."**And in the narration by Ahmed, it said, **"Unless you see he commanded you with clear Ithm (sin)."** So all of these *Hadith*s indicate the duty to raise arms against the ruler and to fight against him if he showed clear *Kufr* from which we have proof from Allah ﷻ, i.e. if he governed with rules of *Kufr*.

But raising the arms against the ruler and attempting to dispute his authority only occurs if there exists, most likely, the capability of removing the ruler, because the subject of the *Hadith* that allows the use of material power to remove the *Munkar*, and the subject of the *Hadith* which oblige raising arms against the ruler when there is evidence of clear *Kufr*, is dependent (connected or related) upon the capability. That is why the *Hadith* mentions, **"If they could not, then they have to use their words."** But in cases where they are unable they are not obliged to raise arms and fight against him; rather action should be taken to prepare the power and to seek the help from the people of power. And once this capability has been established, then raising arms against the ruler and fighting against him should be done.

But the duty to raise arms against the ruler and to fight against

him if he showed clear *Kufr*, this applies only if the *Dar* (land) is *Dar ul-Islam*, and the rules of Islam were implemented and the ruler subsequently showed open *Kufr*. This is because of what the *Hadith* of Ubada Ibn As-Samet and Al Tabarani said, **"Unless you see clear Kufr,"** or **"Unless you see open Kufr,"** which you had never seen before, i.e. if Islam was previously implemented and they, the ruler, replaced it by showing open and clear rules of *Kufr*. But if the land was a land of *Kufr* and the rules of Islam were not put in implementation, then removing the ruler who governs over the Muslims would be through using the method of *Nusrah*, i.e. seeking the help. This is the method that the Prophet ﷺ adopted to establish the State of Islam and to implement the Islamic rules.

E. The groups and organisations which are established on the basis of calling for good morals in order to reform the society. This calling for good morals relates to calling for goodness which Allah ﷻ has commanded the Muslims to call for; but this call for good morals is really a call to act with a part of the rules of Islam, while the call should be to act upon all of the rules of Islam, and to establish the rules of Islam in the reality of life, state and society. This call is also addressed to the individual divine rules which are specific to the individual, and it is not a call to the general rules which relate to the community in the life, state and society.

This call for good morals would neither lead to reform of the society nor to reviving the *Ummah*. This is because reforming the society means reforming the thoughts and emotions which dominate it, and also reforming the system which is implemented upon it, i.e. reforming the public opinions prevalent in the society. This is because society is composed of individuals, emotions and systems, and its reform could only be achieved by reforming its elements, i.e. by reforming the individuals through reforming their thoughts and emotions, and reforming the system that is implemented in the society.

Also, this call for good morals would not lead to the revival of the *Ummah*, because what leads to the revival is the intellectual

elevation. When we look at Europe and America we will see that they are revived, but their revival is incorrect, because the correct revival is the intellectual elevation which has a spiritual basis. So although Europe and America are revived, from the ethical point of view they are in decay, and their revival is devoid of the ethical values, and they live in a society similar to the society inhabited by cattle and beasts.

Calling to these noble morals is not a call that will solve the vital issue of Muslims, nor is it a method to achieve the goal that Allah ﷻ made a duty for the Muslims to work for, i.e. establishing the Khilafah and re-applying Islam in life, state and society, and carrying it as a message to the world by *Da'wah* and *Jihad*.

So solving the vital issue for the Muslims, and arriving at the aim which they must seek, and the goal which they must work to achieve, is to establish the Khilafah in order to put the laws of Islam into application and implementation in life, state and society, and to carry Islam as a message to the world by *Da'wah* and *Jihad*. This task makes it a duty upon the Muslims to establish political organisations based on the Islamic thought and act politically to establish the Khilafah and to bring back the rule of Allah ﷻ. This is the reason why Hizb ut-Tahrir was established; after it understood the vital issue concerning the Muslims and realised the goal which Muslims must work to achieve.

Hizb ut-Tahrir

Hizb ut-Tahrir is a political party and its ideology is Islam. Politics is its activity and Islam is its ideology, and it works together, among, and with the *Ummah* in order that she takes the re-establishment of Islam in life, state, and society as its vital issue, thereby leading her to establishing the Khilafah and returning to the hukm (rule) of Allah ﷻ.

Hizb ut-Tahrir is a political organisation which is established on the Islamic thought, it is not a spiritual or a priestly organisation, nor is it a scientific or educational organisation; nor is it an organisation for welfare activities. The Islamic thought

upon which it is established is embodied in the group of its individuals, and it invites the *Ummah* to this thought in order to act with it, and in order to carry it together with the party so as to establish it in the reality of life, state and society. This Islamic thought is the soul to the body of the party, it is its nucleus, the secret of its life and it is the bond between its individuals.

The aim of Hizb ut-Tahrir is to resume the Islamic way of life and to carry the Islamic *Da'wah*, i.e. to achieve the objective of solving the vital issue concerning the Muslims. Resuming the Islamic way of life means to bring Muslims back to living Islamically in the land of Islam and in an Islamic society, in which the Islamic thoughts and the Islamic emotions dominate, and in which the systems and laws of Islam are implemented. Thereby all the societal affairs will be carried out according to the divine rules, and the prevailing viewpoint in the society will be the *Halal* and the *Haram*. This would be under the shadow of an Islamic State which is the Khilafah, where Muslims would appoint a Khalifah and pledge to listen to and obey him on the condition that he governs them with the Book of Allah ﷻ and the *Sunnah* of His Messenger ﷺ, and on condition that he carries Islam as a message to the world by invitation and *Jihad*. The party aims to accurately revive the *Ummah* through the enlightened thought that is established on the Islamic *Aqeeda* (creed). It seeks to return the Islamic *Ummah* to its previous glory and might, so that it would take the initiative from the other states, nations and peoples, and return to the position of being the number one state in the world, as it was in the past when it used to look after the world and care for its affairs according to the laws of Islam.

The party also aims to carry Islam as a message to the world and to lead the Ummah in struggle with *Kufr* and against the systems and thoughts of *Kufr*, until Islam prevails around the globe.

The activity of Hizb ut-Tahrir is to carry the Islamic message in order to change the reality of the corrupt society that currently prevails in the Muslim lands and to transform it to an Islamic society. This is through the changing of the non-Islamic thoughts

which exist in the society into Islamic thoughts, so that they become a public opinion amongst the people, and become established concepts that drive the people to implement them, and act according to them. Additionally it is through changing the non-Islamic emotions which exist in the society so that they become Islamic emotions that accept what pleases Allah ﷻ and His Messenger ﷺ, and reject anything that angers Allah ﷻ and His Messenger ﷺ. And also it is through changing the non-Islamic relationships which exist in the society till they become Islamic relationships which are carried out according to the rules and solutions of Islam.

These actions which the party carries out are political actions, because the party will look after the affairs of the people through these actions and according to the divine rules and solutions; because politics is caring for the affairs of people by the rules and solutions of Islam.

What appears in all of these political actions that the party conducts is the culturing of the *Ummah* with the Islamic culture in order to mould it with Islam and to purify it from the corrupted creeds, erroneous thoughts, and wrong concepts, and also to purify it from the effect of the *Kufr* thoughts and opinions.

What also appears in these political actions is the Political Struggle; which is manifested in the struggle against the *Kufr* thoughts and systems and also in the struggle against the erroneous thoughts and wrong concepts, through demonstrating and highlighting their corruption and error, and presenting the rules of Islam concerning them.

In the political actions which the party carries out there also appears the Political Strife; which is evident in struggling against the disbelieving states that have an effect on the Muslim lands or have an influence in these lands, in order to salvage the *Ummah* from their domination and to liberate her from their influence, uprooting their intellectual, educational, political and military roots; and also uprooting their systems from various Muslim lands.

This political strife appears also in the struggle against the rulers in the Islamic world (including the Arab world) to disclose and reveal their betrayals and conspiracies against the *Ummah*, bringing them to task, and acting to change them because of their complacency in performing their duties towards the *Ummah* and in their caring for her affairs, in their contradiction of the laws of Islam, and because of their application of the laws of *Kufr*.

So all the activity of the party is political; it is not educational, so it is not a school, nor is it for preaching and guiding, it is rather a political activity in which the thoughts of Islam and its rules and solutions are given in order to be acted upon, and in order to see them enacted in the reality of life, state, and society.

The party conveys Islam in order for it to be implemented and in order that its creed becomes the foundation of the state and the basis of the constitution and the various canons and laws.

Hizb ut-Tahrir was not satisfied only to establish itself in a general form based on the Islamic thoughts, rather after study, discussion and thought relating to:

- the reality of the Ummah and the position she had reached,
- the reality of the society in Muslim lands,
- the reality of the lifetime of the Prophet ﷺ,
- the lifetime of the guided *Khulafah* and the lifetime of the *Tabi'een* (the followers),
- the method and the manner with which the Prophet ﷺ carried his *Da'wah* after the prophethood came to him until he established the state in Medina, and then studying how he proceeded in Medina;

Also by referring to the Book of Allah ﷻ and the *Sunnah* of His Messenger ﷺ, and to what these two sources directed in terms

of other sources such as consensus of the *Sahabah* (*Ijma'a*) and *Qiyas* (analogy); and by enlightening ourselves with the opinions of the *Sahabah* (companions) and the followers and the opinions of the *Mujtahid Imams*. After all this, Hizb ut-Tahrir has adopted detailed thoughts, opinions and rules which are related to the Islamic thought and to the way of implementing it. All these are Islamic ideas and nothing more than that; there is nothing that is non-Islamic, or affected by anything non-Islamic, rather they are only Islamic. They do not depend upon anything except the *Usool* (sources) of Islam and its texts. The party adopted these thoughts based on the strength of the evidence, and based upon its own *Ijtihad* and understanding. The party, therefore, considers all of its thoughts and opinions as correct, but with the possibility of being wrong (as all the scholars would say).

The party adopted from these thoughts, opinions and rules the amount which it considers necessary for it as a party. Because for the political party to be a party, it needs to adopt the details of the thought and the method. It adopted the amount which is necessary for it to proceed in the activity to resume the Islamic way of life, and to convey the Islamic *Da'wah* through establishing a Khilafah and appointing a Khalifah. This it did in such a way that these thoughts, rules, and opinions reveal that Islam is an ideology for life, which includes the *Aqeeda* (creed) and the systems that treat all human problems in life; and in a way that makes the party a unique party. Its effect is that these thoughts and rules become the bond which binds its individuals and by which it maintains the unity of the party structure, the unity of its thoughts, and in order that the party unifies the *Ummah* over these thoughts, opinions and rules. As the party considers the thoughts as correct, it works for the *Ummah* to take them as their own thoughts and opinions in order to convey them together with the party in the reality of life, state and society.

This is the matter that enabled these thoughts, opinions and rules to be known as the thoughts of the party throughout the Islamic world, including the Arab world and even in all the countries of the world.

The party includes everything it adopted of thoughts, opinions and rules in the many books and leaflets that it issued and distributed to the people.

The Method of Hizb ut-Tahrir For Making Change

Regarding Hizb ut-Tahrir's method in making the change in order to re-establish the Khilafah, bringing back the rule of Allah ﷻ and conveying the message of Islam to the world, and the manner of delivering the *Da'wah*, the party limited itself in all of these matters to the divine rules. In this it follows the example of the Prophet ﷺ in his work to establish the State, and the manner in which he applied the divine rules relevant to the state and society; and his manner of carrying the *Da'wah*.

This is because Allah ﷻ has obliged the Muslims to follow the divine rules as he has obliged them to follow the example of the Prophet ﷺ and to take everything he has brought from his Lord. Allah ﷻ said,

لقد كان لكم في رسول الله أسوة حسنة لمن كان يرجو الله واليوم الآخر وذكر الله كثيراً

"Verily in the Messenger of Allah you have a good example for everyone who looks for Allah and looks for the last day and who mentions Allah much" [Al- Ahzab: 21]

And Allah ﷻ also says,

قل إن كنتم تحبون الله فاتبعوني يحببكم الله ويغفر لكم ذنوبكم والله غفور رحيم

"Say to them if you love Allah then follow me, Allah will love you and will forgive your sins." [Al- Imran: 31]

And Allah ﷻ also said,

وما أتاكم الرسول فخذوه وما نهاكم عنه فانتهوا

"Whatever the messenger gives you take it, and whatever he forbids you abstain from it." [Al Hashr: 7]

There are also many other verses that indicate that it is obligatory to follow the Prophet ﷺ and to make him one's example.

Although the party realises that the Prophet ﷺ was engaged in calling the disbelievers to Islam, and we today, carry the *Da'wah* (message) to Muslims in order to encourage them to commit themselves to the rules of Islam, and to work with us to bring back the rule of Allah ﷻ; we are also aware that, unfortunately, Muslim lands are not considered to be *Dar ul-Islam* (land of Islam) and the society which Muslims inhabit is not an Islamic society. As a consequence of this, the party focused its activity on changing the Islamic lands to *Dar ul-Islam* and changing the society in the Islamic countries to an Islamic society. This is exactly how the Prophet ﷺ worked to change Makkah and other countries to *Dar-ul Islam*, and to the change the *Jahiliyah* society in Makkah and other countries to an Islamic society. Because of all these existing conditions, the party has adopted in its method of activity, and in its manner of delivering the call (*Da'wah*) to Islam the following general guidelines:

1. The party carries the message (*Da'wah*) in response to the saying of Allah ﷻ:

ولتكن منكم أمة يدعون الى الخير ويأمرون بالمعروف وينهون عن المنكر وأولئك هم المفلحون

"Let there be from amongst you a group calling to good, enjoining Ma'rouf (what is right) and forbidding Munkar (evil)." [Al- Imran: 104]

The party also submits itself to the divine rules of Allah ﷻ, which makes it obligatory (*Fard*) for Muslims to work and act within the rules of Islam and to convey the rules of Islam in order that they are applied and implemented in life, state, and society. The party undertakes this delivery of the call to Islam not simply as a performance of a duty, but also to achieve the establishment of the Khilafah and to bring back Allah's ﷻ rule.

2. The party constrains itself through its adoption of the divine rules as the only basis for all of its actions and activity, and as the basis for offering its opinions on the different ideologies, thoughts, incidents, and events which occur; and it takes the *Halal* and *Haram* as a standard for all of its activities and actions; it believes that mastership belongs to Islam alone without any exceptions. As a consequence the party commits itself with openness, daring, clarity and challenge to any thing which contradicts Islam; whether it is other religions, ideologies, creeds, thoughts, concepts, systems, habits or traditions. This is even if it means the party exposes itself to the anger of the people who follow these thoughts, and even if they decide to struggle against the party. So when it comes to the question of Islam, the party will not flatter anybody, and will not tell the people of non-Islamic creeds, religions, ideologies and thoughts to remain as they are; rather it asks them to leave what they are following, because it is *Kufr* (disbelief), and to accept Islam because it is the only correct ideology. The party therefore, considers all religions other than Islam like Judaism, Christianity; and all ideologies, like Communism, Socialism and Capitalism as *Kufr* religions and *Kufr* ideologies; and it considers the Jews and Christians as kuffar (disbelievers), and whoever believes in Capitalism, Socialism or Communism as a *Kafir* (unbeliever). The party considers that calling for nationalism, patriotism, localism or sectarianism are matters which are all prohibited by Islam. It also considers that it is haram to establish parties which call for Capitalism, Socialism, secularism, Communism, Freemasonry, nationalism, patriotism or sectarianism or any religion other than Islam, or to participate in or join any of these parties.

The party neither shows flattery nor courtesy to the rulers, nor shows any allegiance to them; whether it is to their constitutions or canons, under the pretext that this will help the party in carrying the *Da'wah*. This is because it is divinely haram to accomplish the duty through using haram methods. Instead the party will take every opportunity to criticise them harshly, and it considers the system sof ruling that they apply as *Kufr* systems which have to be removed and replaced by the rules of Islam. Furthermore, the party considers these rulers as tyrants (wrong-*doers) and Fasiqs (evil-doers), because they govern with the rules* of *Kufr* (disbelief). The party also considers anyone who denies the suitability of Islam and any of its decisive rules to be kafir.

The party also does not accept to participate in the ruling system of the government, because it is based on the ruling of *Kufr*, and this is a matter that is forbidden for Muslims. Also it does not accept helping them to create economical, educational, social or moral reforms. This is because to provide this type of service is a form of support to the tyrants and a help to prolong the life of their corrupt and *Kufr* systems. The party instead strives to uproot them and to remove their *Kufr* systems which they implement upon Muslims, in order for the *Ahkam* (rules of Islam) to be brought back again, both in application and implementation.

3. The party works for the complete implementation of Islam: whether it is in worships, transactions, morals, or systems. This is in accordance with the saying of Allah ﷻ,

وان احكم بينهم بما انزل الله ولا تتبع اهواءهم واحذرهم ان يفتنوك عن بعض ما انزل الله اليك

"And govern between them with what Allah has revealed and don't follow their desires and beware that they might seduce you from some of what Allah has revealed upon you." [Al -Mai'dah: 49]

And also,

وما أتاكم الرسول فخذوه وما نهاكم عنه فانتهوا

"Whatever the Messenger brought you take it, and whatever he forbids you abstain from it' [Al- Hashr: 7]

The word 'whatever' (*Ma*) which came in both verses is general, which covers every rule that Allah ﷻ has revealed and everything which the Prophet ﷺ has brought. So the implementation of all that Allah ﷻ has revealed and what the Prophet ﷺ has brought is a duty, and there is no distinction between one rule and another rule, or between one duty and another duty, because implementing and applying all of them is obligatory and it is not allowed to implement some of them and to ignore others. Also it is not allowed to gradually implement or apply them, because we are bound by them all, and they have to be totally implemented.

Furthermore, when the reality contradicts with Islam, it is not allowed to interpret Islam so as to agree with reality, because this would be a distortion of Islam; instead the duty requires changing the reality so as to conform to Islam.

4. Based upon the *Sirah* of the Prophet ﷺ after he was sent as a messenger in order to establish the Islamic State and to change the land of *Kufr* to the land of Islam, and to change the *Jahiliyah* (disbelieving) society to an Islamic society; the party has defined its way of carrying the *Da'wah* as consisting of three stages:

The First : The stage of culturing; this involves finding and cultivating individuals who are convinced by the thought and method of the party. This is necessary in order to formulate and establish a group capable of carrying the party's ideas.

The Second: The stage of interaction with the *Ummah* (nation) in order to encourage the *Ummah* to work for Islam and to carry the *Da'wah* as if it was its own, and so that it works to establish Islam in life, state and society.

The Third: The stage of taking the government and implementing Islam completely and totally, and carrying its message to the world.

The first stage is considered to be the foundation stage, in which the nucleus exists, and the first circle is formed after being guided to the thought and the method. This first circle started through contacting the individuals in the *Ummah*, and presenting them with the thought and the method individually. Whenever an individual accepted this call, he was invited to study in concentrated circles, in order to be moulded by the thoughts and the rules of Islam that the circle adopted. Through this study he becomes an Islamic personality who is characterised by an Islamic mentality, which makes him look at the thoughts, incidents and events from an Islamic viewpoint, and furthermore offers opinions about them in accordance with the standards set by Islam, which are the halal and the haram. He is also characterised by an Islamic psyche or emotions which makes him revolve with Islam, where he agrees with what pleases Allah ﷻ and His messenger ﷺ, and he becomes angry and rejects anything which angers Allah ﷻ and His messenger ﷺ. He then embarks on carrying the *Da'wah* to the people, after having interacted with Islam, because the study he received in the circles is practical and effective, in other words it is a study which he acts upon in life and carries to the people.

So once this individual has reached this level he would then force himself on the party and become part of the party's structure. This is exactly what the Prophet ﷺ did in the first stage of the *Da'wah*, which continued for three years, where he used to call the people to Islam individually, giving them the message that Allah ﷻ sent him with, and whoever accepted this message, he would culture him with Islam secretly. He showed great concern to teach him with what was revealed to him from the message of Islam and to recite to him the revelations from the Qur'an in order to remould him with Islam. The Prophet ﷺ used to meet in secret with those who believed in him to teach them in concealed places, and they used to practice their worships discreetly until the news of Islam spread in Makkah, where people started talking about it and groups of people began entering it.

In this foundation stage the Party limited itself to the culturing side only, and it focused its attention upon building the party's body, to increase its numbers and to deeply culture the individuals

in it's circles. Culturing was with the culture which it adopted, until it was able to formulate a party structure consisting of people who were moulded by Islam, who adopted the thoughts of the party, and interacted with them and carried them to the people.

After the party established its structure and the society became aware of its existence, its culture and its call, at this moment the party moved to the second stage:

This second stage involved interacting with the *Ummah* in order to encourage her to adopt Islam and to carry it's vital issues. This was done through creating the public awareness about the Islamic thoughts and rules which the party adopted, so that the Muslims would take them as their own thoughts, in order to act upon them and carry them for their establishment in life, and to join the party in the activity for establishing the Khilafah, and appointing a Khalifah, so as to resume the Islamic way of life and to carry the Islamic *Da'wah* to the world.

During this stage, the party started to collectively address the *Ummah* by undertaking the following actions:

1. The concentrated culturing in the circles for individuals; in order to build the body of the party and to increase its numbers by founding the Islamic personalities who are capable of carrying the *Da'wah* and entering the arena of the intellectual struggle and political strife.

2. Collective culturing of the masses by the thoughts and rules of Islam which the party adopted through organising lessons in the mosques, conferences, lectures, places of public gathering, newspapers, books and leaflets, so as to give the *Ummah* a public awareness and to interact with it. This would mould the Ummah with Islam and thereby establish the popular form amongst it, which would enable the party to lead the *Ummah* to establish the Khilafah and bring back the rule of Allah ﷻ.

3. The intellectual struggle against the *Kufr* creeds, systems, and thoughts; and the false creeds, erroneous thoughts and wrong

concepts revealing their falsehood, error and contradiction with Islam in order to purify the *Ummah* against them and their effect.

4. The Political Struggle, which represents:

a - Struggling against the imperialist disbelieving states which have power or influence in Muslim lands. This involves struggling against colonialism in all its forms; intellectually, politically, economically and militarily, and to disclose its plans and expose its conspiracies in order to salvage the *Ummah* from its domination and liberate it from its influence.

b - Challenging the rulers in the Arab and Muslim countries; this is done through exposing them, bringing them to task and struggling against them every time they deny and rob the rights of the Muslim *Ummah*, or show carelessness in performing their duties towards the *Ummah*, or neglect any matter concerning the *Ummah*, or contradict the rules of Islam. The party works to remove their ruling which is based on implementing the *Kufr* laws and systems and to replace it with the rule of Islam.

5. Adopting the interests of the *Ummah* and caring for its affairs according to the rules of *Shari'ah*. The party has performed all these actions through adopting the method that the Prophet ﷺ followed after the following words of Allah ﷻ were revealed to him:

فاصدع بما تؤمر واعرض عن المشركين

"Proclaim what you have been ordered; And turn away from the Mushriks" [Al- Hijr: 94]

So he ﷺ conveyed Islam openly by calling Quraysh to mount Safa and told them that he was a Prophet sent by Allah ﷻ, and he asked them to believe in him. He ﷺ then started to convey the *Da'wah* to groups as well as individuals. He opposed Quraysh; their gods, creeds and thoughts by showing their falsehood, corruption and error. He ﷺ attacked those thoughts as he attacked

all the existing creeds and thoughts. Verses of the Qur'an were simultaneously revealed to him on these specific issues, attacking all their practices including taking usury, killing their baby daughters, cheating in the weighing scales and committing adultery. The verses also attacked the leaders of Quraysh, insulting their forefathers and their minds, exposing their conspiracies against the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, and his companions.

When the party carried its thoughts, and exposed itself to the other thoughts and political organisations, and struggled against the kafir states and their rulers: the party was open, clear and challenging; and it did not flatter, cajole, show friendship or courtesy, and was not concerned with its own safety, irrespective of the results or the situations. So the party would challenge anyone who contradicted the rules of Islam. This exposed the party to severe harm from the rulers and to revenge from the other political organisations and the followers of the other calls, even in some cases, to the anger of the *Ummah*.

The party did this following the Messenger of Allah ﷺ, because he came with the message of Islam to all the world, challenging openly the *Kufr* thoughts in all aspects of life, and he declared war against all the people of the world without giving any consideration to their traditions, habits, religions, creeds, to the rulers or the public, and he ﷺ did not pay heed to anything except the message of Islam.

So he ﷺ started the attack against Quraysh by defaming their gods and insulting them, and he challenged their creeds and cursed them. All this he ﷺ did as an individual with no means or help and with no weapons except his deep *Iman* (faith) in the message of Islam which he was sent with. Though the party was bound in its march to be clear, open and challenging, it limited itself to using the political actions, and did not exceed that to using the physical force against the rulers or against those who opposed its *Da'wah* or those who caused harm to it. The party has done this following the Messenger of Allah ﷺ who restricted himself in Makkah to the *Da'wah*, and did not use any physical force until he migrated to Medina. And when the people who gave him ﷺ the second pledge

of Aqabah sought his permission to fight against the people of Minah, who were *Mushriks*, he ﷺ responded saying: **"We have not been ordered to fight yet."** And Allah ﷻ asked him to be patient against the harm and persecution just like the previous messengers had been patient.

Allah ﷻ said:

ولقد كذبت رسل من قبلك فصبروا على كذبوا
وأوذوا حتى آتاهم نصرنا

"Messengers before you were disbelieved and yet they remained patient after the rejection of their Da'wah and they were patient against the harm until our victory came to them" [Al- An'am: 34]

And when the society and the *Ummah* became rigid or indifferent towards the party, the party reviewed its study of the sirah of the Prophet ﷺ, in order to receive guidance from it. From this study the party came to the following conclusions:

1. When Abu Talib (the Prophet's ﷺ uncle) died, the society in Makkah was rigid and closed to the Prophet ﷺ. Because of the death of Abu Talib the persecution against the Messenger ﷺ by Quraysh was much more severe than would have occurred during Abu Talib's lifetime. So the protection of the Messenger ﷺ was weaker than at the time of Abu Talib. Allah ﷻ therefore revealed to him that he should approach the Arab tribes seeking their protection and support, so that he could convey the message of Allah ﷻ safely. Ibn Kathir writing about the sirah, narrated about Ali bin Abi Talib, that he said, "When Allah commanded His messenger to present himself to the Arab tribes he went out to Mina accompanied by myself and Abu Bakr where we came to a gathering of Arab tribes."

And Ibn Kathir narrated also from Ibn Abbas about Al Abbas (his father), that he said, the Prophet ﷺ told me: "I don't find any protection from you or your brother (meaning Hamza), can you take me out to the market tomorrow, so that I can visit the camp where the Arab tribes gather".

So Abbas said: "I said yes". "This is Kinda and this is the best people who come to pilgrimage from Yemen. These are the camps of Bani Amir Ibn Sa'sa'ah, so choose for yourself which tribe you want." Abbas said that the Prophet ﷺ approached Bani Kinda first.

2. When the Prophet ﷺ approached the tribes he asked them to believe in him as Allah's ﷻ messenger, and trust him and then to give him their protection, so that he would be able to safely convey Allah's ﷻ message. All the texts related to the Prophet's ﷺ approach to the tribes state that he used to ask for protection for himself and for his *Da'wah*.

3. Bani Kinda and Bani Amir ibn Sa'sa'ah demanded in return for their protection of the Prophet ﷺ the right of the government and leadership after the Prophet ﷺ dies. This clearly indicates that they understood from his request for protection that he wanted to establish a government, a political entity, a system of ruling over them. This is the reason why they demanded that they should take control of the government after his death.

4. The help that he received from the people of Medina at the conclusion of the second pledge of Aqabah, and the establishment of the State once he arrived in Medina clearly indicated that the objective of the Prophet ﷺ in seeking protection and support was to establish an Islamic State in order to implement the rules of Islam.

5. The party's conclusion from all this reassessment of the situation is that the action of seeking the *Nusrah* (help) is different from the actions of the first stage, which is culturing, and is also different from the second stage action of interaction, in spite of the fact that seeking the *Nusrah* occurred in the second stage, which is the stage of interaction. And it is also part of the method which must be followed when the society becomes rigid or indifferent towards those who convey the *Da'wah* and the harm increases on them. Therefore, the party added seeking the *Nusrah*, to the actions which it carries, and it started to seek it from the people who are in a position to give it. The party has two

objectives in seeking the *Nusrah*:

Firstly; to get protection for the party so as to enable it to carry the *Da'wah* safely.

Secondly; to reach the government, so as to establish the Khilafah and bring back the rule of Allah ﷻ in life, the state, and society.

Although the party was engaged in the actions of seeking the *Nusrah*, it continued with all its other usual activities including: the concentrated study in the circles, culturing the public and concentrating on the *Ummah* in order to encourage it to carry Islam and to establish public opinion within it; and also struggling against the colonialist disbelieving states, disclosing their plans and revealing their conspiracies; and struggling against the rulers and adopting the interests of the *Ummah* and caring for its affairs. The party will continue to do so hoping that Allah ﷻ will give the Islamic *Ummah* the success, victory and triumph. It is at that moment, the believers will truly be happy with the victory of Allah ﷻ.

It is by favour from Allah ﷻ on the people that there now exists a public opinion for Islam, which has now become the hope of the *Ummah* for its salvation. And the name of Khilafah has become constantly repeated on the tongue of every person when previously it was not. So establishing the Khilafah and bringing back the rule of Allah ﷻ becomes the hope of all Muslims.

We ask Allah ﷻ to guide our steps and provide us with a power from Him ﷻ, and support our back with angels, and with the sincere believers, and to honour us with a mighty strong victory from Him, and enable us to establish the Khilafah, and appoint a Khalifah for the Muslims to whom we give our *Bai'a* (pledge) to listen and to obey, so as to govern over us with the Book of Allah ﷻ and the *Sunnah* of His messenger ﷺ; and to demolish all the *Kufr* regimes from the Muslim lands, gathering all the Muslims under the banner of Khilafah and unifying all the Muslim territories under the Khilafah State. Surely Allah ﷻ is All-able

to do anything He ﷻ wants.

Our last prayer (*Du'aa*) is, *'Al hamdu lillahi rabbil alamin.'*